

## A MEDALLION OF THE PROPHET DANIEL IN THE DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION

GEORGE P. MAJESKA

RESERVED at Dumbarton Oaks is a fine Late Byzantine embossed metal "icon" of the Prophet Daniel. The catalogue of the collection describes this object as a round gold "plaque" or medallion with a diameter of 3.4 cm.<sup>1</sup> The face of the medallion was evidently pressed in a die, with a plain backing of copper alloy added for stability. The hollow interior was then filled with a base substance for weight and solidity. The full-length figure of Daniel, in orant position, nimbed, and in "Persian dress," that is, wearing a short belted tunic and short cloak, fills the center of the piece. On either side a lion crouches at his feet, facing the Prophet. The left ground bears the Late Byzantine uncial inscription Ο ΠΡΟΦΙΤΗΣ (*sic*), and the right continues with ΔΑΝΙΗΛ. There is an embossed beadwork border around the circumference of the medallion; embossed beadwork also outlines the halo of the chief figure and his cloak (see fig. 1). The piece gives the impression of being a Late Byzantine seal, but there are no traces of its originally being used on a cord or ribbon, and, further, no identification of a person or institution such as one would expect to find on a normal seal. The catalogue suggests that the medallion was either part of a piece of jewelry or had been used on a reliquary.<sup>2</sup> This thesis seems quite reasonable given the small hole bored in the top of the medallion which would allow it to be hung or fastened. It is

unlikely, however, that this hole is original since it is not at the iconographic center of the medallion and goes through the halo and top of the head of the prophet; more likely, the hole was drilled to adapt the medallion to a new use. Further, there are no traces of an original means of attaching the piece to a larger item such as a reliquary. The medallion, then, would seem originally to have had an independent use, possibly as a small metal icon. Round metal icons of such small dimensions, however, are rare in the Byzantine world. On the other hand, medallions of the Prophet Daniel are by no means infrequent in Early Christian times,<sup>3</sup> although they usually seem to have served either as amulets (possibly even non-Christian),<sup>4</sup> or as jewelry.<sup>5</sup> Such pieces differ

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the examples noted in H. Leclercq's article, "Daniel," *DACL*, 4, cols. 234-45.

<sup>4</sup> There are, for example, four round medallions of the Prophet Daniel at Rome which date from the Early Christian period. The Pontificio Medagliere at the Vatican possesses a crude second- or third-century silver medallion 3.4 cm. in diameter which shows a nude orant figure (probably Daniel) with a lion's head on either side (J. Wilpert, "Di un dischetto argenteo rappresentante Daniele fra i leoni," *NBACr*, 1 [1895], 114-15, and pl. I, no. 3). The Vatican Museums also have a bronze and silver medallion of Daniel approximately 5.2 cm. in diameter with a beaded border. Iconographically this medallion is quite different from the Dumbarton Oaks medallion. It shows a kneeling Daniel with a lion's head on either side, all within the semicircular swirl formed by the cloak of the full-length figure on the Prophet's right. The figure is offering the moon and stars to be worshipped. The unusual motif suggests that the piece is an amulet (R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, VI [Prato, 1880], 167-68, and pl. 492, no. 8; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, II [New York, 1953], 223, and fig. 1036). Even more definitely an amulet is a small elliptical onyx medallion, which shows a nude full-length

<sup>1</sup> M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, II. *Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D.C., 1965), 78-79, and pl. LVI. The provenance of this piece, once in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, is unknown. I would like here to express my appreciation to Mrs. Elizabeth Bland, Curator of the Byzantine Collection of Dumbarton Oaks, for the consideration she showed me while I worked on this object.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

from the Dumbarton Oaks medallion both by the absence of a nimbus on the chief figure and by the absence of an identifying inscription.

Quite similar to the Dumbarton Oaks Daniel medallion, iconographically, is an earlier piece at one time in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin.<sup>6</sup> The Berlin medallion, also embossed in gold with a beadwork border, has a diameter of 3.8 cm. and shows the Prophet Daniel orant with nimbus, again in "Persian dress" between two lions. In this piece, however, Daniel is seated. The upper part of the ground bears two Greek crosses and, below the central figure's raised hands and above the lions' heads, a legend, which Volbach reads [ΘΕ] ΟΣ (?). A sizable fragment, which must have included the head of one of the lions, the first part of the inscription, and a part of the Prophet's hand, has been broken off. The object is probably sixth century or earlier.<sup>7</sup> Volbach connects the Berlin medallion of the Prophet Daniel with the Holy

orant figure, most likely Daniel, between two facing lions rampant; the lions hold cross-shaped staffs. An inscription along the top border carries the traditional amulet legend εἰς θεὸς to which is added βε(λ)οι (Baal?; Garrucci, *op. cit.*, 169, and pl. 492, no. 15; Goodenough, *op. cit.*, 223, and fig. 1035). A gold medallion in a private collection, much like the first and third medallions in iconography, but with a now incomplete legend around its circular border, the preserved part of which reads +εὐλογία ("a blessing"; the word later comes to mean pilgrim token; see *infra*, note 28), would represent an intermediate Judeo-Christian type of Daniel amulet (O. Wulff, "Ein Gang durch die Geschichte der altchristlichen Kunst mit ihren neuen Pfadfindern," *Repertorium für Kunsthissenschaft*, 34 [1911], 291–93; Goodenough, *op. cit.*, 223, and fig. 1037).

<sup>5</sup> This was clearly the use, for example, of the two small blue paste medallions (third to sixth century?) found in Cyprus, which also show the Prophet Daniel orant with two lions; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities ... of the British Museum* (London, 1901), nos. 701, 702.

<sup>6</sup> Acquisition no. 6682. See W. F. Volbach, "Zwei frühchristliche Goldmedaillons," *Berliner Museen*, 43 (1922), 80–84 and fig. 72. Ross, *loc. cit.*, has noted the similarities between this piece and the Dumbarton Oaks medallion. The Berlin medallion was destroyed during World War II.

<sup>7</sup> Volbach, *loc. cit.*

Land and suggests that it was brought to Italy, where it was found, as a pilgrim token. He further suggests that it reproduces some specific monumental depiction of Daniel among the lions at a shrine in Palestine,<sup>8</sup> possibly at the tomb of the Prophet. Indeed, the iconographic scheme of the medallion would suggest an Eastern source. While there exists a basic iconographic format for depicting Daniel in the lions' den, a format which stretches from catacomb painting to the Renaissance, namely the orant Prophet with a facing lion on either side,<sup>9</sup> there is a dichotomy between "Eastern" and "Western" traditions. In the West, the figure of the Prophet is usually depicted at first nude, and later clad in a toga; in the East, both Semitic and Greek, as well as in Africa, Daniel is normally shown in "Persian dress."<sup>10</sup> On iconographic grounds, then, Volbach would seem to be correct in ascribing the Berlin piece to the East, if not necessarily to Palestine. That the medallion derives directly from a proposed mural or mosaic prototype at a shrine in Palestine, however, is dubious, for the standard iconography of the scene represented on this piece seems to have been so well established in the sixth century as to make the positing of a particular monumental depiction as its source unnecessary.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, one must assume that a pilgrim token showing Daniel as its motif and suggested as coming from a shrine in Palestine would almost of necessity

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> The basic iconography of this subject might well have been borrowed from a Hellenistic-Jewish tradition. On the iconography of Daniel among the lions, see J. Daniélou's article, "Daniel," *RAC*, 3 (Stuttgart, 1955), cols. 575–85; V. H. Elbern's article, "Daniel: II. Ikonographie," *LThK*, 3 (Freiburg, 1959), col. 153; *DACL*, s.v. "Daniel," cols. 221–48; W. Deonna, "Daniel, le 'Maitre des fauves': A propos d'une lampe chrétienne du Musée de Genève," *Artibus Asiae*, 12 (1949), 119–40. The unpublished dissertation of G. Wacker, "Ikonographische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung Daniels in der Löwengrube" (Marburg, 1955), was unfortunately unavailable to me. I would like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Doula Mouriki for her suggestions about iconographic studies of this subject

<sup>10</sup> See Deonna, "Daniel, le 'Maitre de fauves,'" 139. This dichotomy is also evident in the studies cited in the previous note.

<sup>11</sup> See the works cited *supra*, note 9.

come from a Palestinian pilgrimage shrine dedicated to Daniel. No such shrine is known. Byzantine tradition records the presence of the tomb and relics of the Prophet Daniel in Constantinople. These relics were preserved at the church (*martyrion*) of St. Romanus near the Romanus Gate of the land walls (the modern Topkapı Gate).<sup>12</sup>

Although the tomb of the Prophet Daniel seems to have played only a minor role in the religious life of Constantinople,<sup>13</sup> it must have been an important object of devotion among pilgrims in the later middle ages, or so one would assume from the preserved Russian sources on the shrine.<sup>14</sup> The shrine

<sup>12</sup> *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 45, 271; "Le Synaire arménien de Ter Israel," ed. G. Bayan, PO, 18 (1924), 67; "Patria," *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, II, Teubner (1907), 245, which dates the enshrinement of the Prophet's relics at the church of St. Romanus the Martyr to the time of the dowager Empress St. Helen. The fourteenth-century poet Manuel Philes (*Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols. [Paris, 1855], I, 50–52; II, 269), devotes a few short poems to Daniel's tomb in Constantinople, and the twelfth-century *Gesta regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury (*Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Paul de Riant, II [Geneva, 1878], 211) also lists the body of Daniel the prophet among the relics preserved in Constantinople. On the shrine of St. Daniel the prophet and its location, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, pt. I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat œcuménique*, vol. III: *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd. ed. (Paris, 1969), 85–86, 448–49.

<sup>13</sup> The liturgical observance of the memory of the Prophet Daniel was combined with that of the commemoration of the Three Israelite Children in the Babylonian furnace and celebrated each December 17 at St. Sophia, not at Daniel's tomb (*Synaxarium CP*, cols. 317–20). Possibly the festival was celebrated at St. Sophia rather than near the relics of the Prophet Daniel because the liturgical drama of *The Three Holy Children*, which was an important part of the ceremony, could only be performed in metropolitan churches. The drama was appointed for the Sunday which fell between December 16 and 22. See M. Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 349–85.

<sup>14</sup> Visits to this shrine are recorded by all of the mediaeval Russian visitors to Constantinople who have left descriptions of the city: Anthony of Novgorod in 1200 (*Kniga palomnik ... Antonija Arhiepiskopa novgorodskogo*, ed. H. M. Loparev, Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij

in Constantinople attracted notice not only because of the unique relics it possessed,<sup>15</sup> but also because of the unusual nature of the Prophet Daniel's tomb. The sarcophagus, which apparently stood in the crypt of the church, was made of reddish marble and was supported by stone lions. At the head and also at the foot of the casket was a stone angel in the guise of a sleeping or prostrate child.<sup>16</sup> According to two fourteenth-century Russian pilgrims, the so-called Russian Anonymus and Stephen of Novgorod, moreover, it was at this shrine that the "people receive a seal for the journey" (*pečat' vzimajut na put'*),<sup>17</sup> the "seal of the Prophet Daniel."<sup>18</sup>

Obviously the question arises, what were these "seals" (*pečati*) of the Prophet Daniel which one took "for the journey." Ainalov suggests that they were a type of pilgrim token, probably in the form of small metal cons, which served as a souvenir of Con-

Sbornik, 51 [St. Petersburg, 1899], 27 and *passim*); Stephen of Novgorod in 1349 ("Hoždenie Stefana Novgorodca," in M. N. Speranskij, *Iz starinnoj novgorodskoj literatury* [Leningrad, 1934], 57); Ignatius of Smolensk', on the feast of the Prophet Daniel, December 17, in 1389 (*Hoždenie Ignatija Smoljanina*, ed. S. V. Arsen'ev, Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik, 12 [St. Petersburg, 1887], 11); the Russian clerk Alexander ("Hoženie Aleksandra d'jaka," *Polnoe Sobranie Russkih letopisej*, 4 [St. Petersburg, 1848], 358), and an anonymous Russian pilgrim ("Opisanie Konstantinopolja načala XIV veka," in Speranskij, *Iz starinnoj*, 135), both around 1390; and the Russian monk Zosima in the first part of the fifteenth century (*Hoženie inoka Zosimy*, ed. H. M. Loparev, Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik, 24 [St. Petersburg, 1889], 9).

<sup>15</sup> The shrine also housed the relics of SS. Romanus and Nicetas, and the body of the Prophet Habakkuk. See Janin, *loc. cit. (supra, note 12)*.

<sup>16</sup> Philes, *Carmina*, ed. Miller, I, 50–51, II, 269; "Hoždenie Stefana," 57; "Opisanie Konstantinopolja," 135; *Hoženie ... Zosimy*, 9.

<sup>17</sup> "Opisanie Konstantinopolja," 135, and apparatus. A later recasting of this anonymous description into dialogue form reads: "Christian travelers come there to venerate St. Daniel and receive a seal for the journey," in *Beseda o svjatynjah i drugih dostopamjatnostjah Caregrada*, ed. L. N. Majkov, Sbornik otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti, 51, no. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1890): Materialy i issledovaniya po starinnoj russkoj literature, I, 20.

<sup>18</sup> "Hoždenie Stefana," 57.

stantinople and evidence of having visited the shrines of the city.<sup>19</sup> Pilgrim tokens (εὐλογίαι) were common in the Byzantine East until the seventh century, and included not only the well-known palms from the Holy Land and decorated *ampullae* for water from the Jordan or for oil from the body of St. Menas, but "tokens" as such, that is to say, medallions. From the silence of the sources and the lack of preserved examples one must assume that the vogue for such pilgrim tokens subsided among the Byzantines around A.D. 600. Souvenirs of pilgrimage, of course, remained very popular in the West, one of the most common being shells from the shrine of St. James at Compostella,<sup>20</sup> and were not completely unknown in the Eastern Church. For instance, Anthony of Novgorod, who visited Constantinople in 1200, notes that people "take the imprint" (*pečat'*, literally "seal") of an image of Christ carved on the precious stone of a sacred vessel which the Russian Princess Olga had given to St. Sophia when she visited it.<sup>21</sup> The "imprint" very likely served as a pilgrim token, although Anthony says that people took these seals "for all good luck" (*emljut pečati ljudie na vse dobro*).<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the two later Russian sources cited above seem to suggest that something like a pilgrim token in the shape of a seal was as a matter of course distributed to travelers at the tomb of the Prophet Daniel.

<sup>19</sup> D. Ajnalov, "Primečanija k tekstu knigi 'Palomnik' Antonija novgorodskogo," *Žurnal ministerstva narodnogo Prosveščenija* (1908), no. 11, part 2, 96–98.

<sup>20</sup> Byzantine pilgrim souvenirs are discussed in D. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), 606–7, 623–27, and in V. Latyšev, "Etjudy po vizantijskoj epigrafikë 4: Něskol'ko pamjatnikov' s' nadpisjami vizantijskoj èpohi iz' Hersonisa Tavričeskago," *VizVrem*, 6 (1899), 353–59. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, VI, 47, discusses the use of the word εὐλογία in this context. On pilgrim tokens of the Middle Ages in general, see S. Heath, *In the Steps of the Pilgrims* (New York, 1951), 107–16; R. Oursel, *Les pèlerins du moyen âge* (Paris, 1963), 41–43; and B. Bagatti, "Eulogie palestinesi," *OCP*, 15 (1949), 126–66.

<sup>21</sup> *Kniga palomnik*, 3. On this plate and its medallion of Christ in precious stone, see Ajnalov, "Primečanija k tekstu Antonija," 90–102.

<sup>22</sup> See *Kniga palomnik*, *loc. cit.*, and Ajnalov, "Primečanija k tekstu Antonija," *loc. cit.*

Excavations at Crimean Chersonese have produced two interesting finds, which tell us much about Byzantine pilgrim tokens. Although both objects are probably from the sixth century, they give us some idea of the form taken by Byzantine pilgrim token medallions. One of these finds is a terracotta medallion or "seal" of St. Phocas, 10 cm. in diameter, doubtless made in a matrix which could have been used for casting the same token in more expensive materials. Like the two gold Daniel medallions described earlier, this piece also has a blank reverse. Probably contemporary with the Daniel medal of the Berlin Museum, the St. Phocas piece is clearly of inferior and provincial workmanship, and is also much larger than either of the two gold medallions. The iconography of the central figure in these three pieces, however, is similar. All show their respective Saints full length and full face, with nimbus and in orant position, with identifying symbols on either side. As noted above, Daniel has a lion facing him on each side. St. Phocas has a trident and large fish on his left, and a rudder and oars on his right; he stands in a boat, for he was the patron of sailors.<sup>23</sup> The inscription within the double border around the obverse of the Chersonese medallion leaves no doubt that it was a pilgrim token from the shrine of St. Phocas at the almshouse of Chersonese: + Εὐ(λο)γία τοῦ ἀγίου Φωκᾶ τοῦ πτοχ(ε)ίου Χερσ(ό)νεως.<sup>24</sup> These tokens were probably distributed to those who contributed to the St. Phocas almshouse (this Saint was also a patron of almshouses), very likely sailors showing their gratitude for safe arrival at Chersonese.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Latyšev, "Etjudy po vizantijskoj epigrafikë 4," 344–49. On the cult of St. Phocas in Byzantium, see N. Oikonomides, "Άγιος Φωκᾶς ο Σιναπεύς, in 'Αρχ. Πόντ., 17 (1952), 184–219.

<sup>24</sup> Latyšev, *op. cit.*, 344. A very similar token, but possibly of much later date (eighth-twelfth century?), was found during excavations at Chersonese in 1963. See M. Sjuzumov, ed., "Materialy po arheologii Hersonesa," *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka*, 7 (Sverdlovsk, 1971), 50, and fig. 16.

<sup>25</sup> Latyšev, *op. cit.*, 344–49, which quotes *in extenso* the "Eulogy of St. Phocas" describing customs which seamen followed in their devotions to the Saint.

The excavations in Byzantine Chersonese have also uncovered a terracotta mold, just slightly smaller than the St. Phocas medallion, for what was apparently a pilgrim token of St. George. The border inscription (in mirror image, of course) is incomplete but is very similar to the one on the St. Phocas token.<sup>26</sup> The iconography of the medallion mold, however, is different: a Latin cross with flared ends, with a standing saint on either side.<sup>27</sup> This mold was clearly used to produce pilgrim tokens at some local shrine, probably that of St. George; it could have been used with various materials to produce pious souvenirs resembling large seals.

Given the Chersonese discoveries, I would suggest that a mold similar to the one found at Chersonese might well have been used at the shrine of the Prophet Daniel in Constantinople to produce what the Russian sources quoted above call "seals" of the Prophet Daniel, "seals for the journey." If such were the case, what form would these "seals" have taken? Judging from the attested Byzantine pilgrim tokens from Chersonese they would be round, they would show the patron of the shrine on the obverse, possibly as the central figure, and bear an identifying inscription. The reverse would be blank; assumedly, the material of the medallion could vary.

Might either of the two gold medallions of the Prophet Daniel described earlier be identified as "seals of the Prophet Daniel" which pilgrims received at the Prophet's shrine in Constantinople? Both are round like the Chersonese examples, although considerably smaller; both show the shrine's patron on the obverse and have a blank reverse; both were produced in dies. Unlike the Chersonese pilgrim token, the two Daniel medallions are gold. This fact, however, does not preclude their being pilgrim tokens, for such items might have been pressed in various metals, possibly from small sheets presented by the pilgrims at the shrine. It is unlikely that a medallion stamped in a baser metal, such as a soft copper-tin alloy, would have been preserved and thus found today

<sup>26</sup> [Εύλογι]α τοῦ ἀ(γ)ίου καὶ ἐνδόξ[ι]ου μεγάλο[υ μάρτυρος [Γεωργίου ?] (ibid., 352).

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 349–53.

in museum collections, even though the less costly tokens would doubtless have outnumbered those pressed in gold. The inscription on the two gold Daniel medallions presents a problem and makes their identification as pilgrim tokens from Daniel's tomb somewhat less sure. Neither piece bears the specific legend of the Chersonese medallions, εὐλογία. The earlier Daniel medallion from the Berlin Museum, now destroyed, bears the unenlightening legend θεός, which, as a *nomen sacrum*, would seem to be more appropriate to an amulet than to a pilgrim token.<sup>28</sup> The Late Byzantine Daniel plaque at Dumbarton Oaks, on the other hand, does carry an inscription identifying the subject depicted, and possibly thereby also the shrine where it was made.<sup>29</sup> One might thus

<sup>28</sup> One of the most common legends for amulets in Early Christian times, a usage which, as a matter of fact, extends beyond the limits of the Christian community, is εἰς θεός, a shortened version of a talismanic incantation such as εἰς θεός βοήθι (E. Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, *Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* [Göttingen, 1926], particularly p. 83; C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, 49 [Ann Arbor, 1950], 172, 180, etc.). The shortened form of this legend with the addition of the name of Jesus, εἰς θεός – Ἰησοῦς, appears on the reverse of a crude Coptic stone amulet depicting, on the obverse, Daniel among the lions, which is now in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (Bonner, *op. cit.*, no. 332). Just as the εἰς θεός legend, probably with the addition of the name of Baal, appears on one of the Vatican Daniel medallions discussed above, might not the legend θεός [?] purportedly on the Berlin Daniel medallion be another form of this talismanic inscription? (Although part of the left side of this medallion is destroyed, including the place where one posits the presence of the first two letters of θεός, there is no space which could accommodate the first word of the regular εἰς θεός formula.) On the basis of a lack of inscription identifying the subject of the Berlin medallion, and the correspondence of the apparent inscription θεός with those on talismanic pieces, I would tend to class the Berlin Daniel medallion as an amulet. It is interesting to note in this context that a common denomination for talisman medallions in the Early Christian era is simply σφραγίς θεοῦ, "seal of God" (Bonner, *op. cit.*, 209 ff.).

<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the only Old Testament figure represented in a hoard of small terracotta pilgrim tokens recently acquired by the British

suggest that the Daniel medallion in the Dumbarton Oaks collection is a pilgrim token from Constantinople, a "seal of the Prophet Daniel" from his shrine in the Byzantine capital; it dates, after all, from a period when, according to the Russian accounts, "seals of the Prophet Daniel" were distributed there.

Since the seals of the Prophet Daniel are the only tokens of Constantinople mentioned by Russian travelers of Palaeologan times, they might have had a more important and specific function than that of simple souvenirs of the tomb of Daniel. They might well have served as proof of the bearer's having been a true pilgrim in the Byzantine capital. Such an interpretation would explain why Russian visitors to "the city guarded by God" tended to visit the Daniel shrine toward the end of their stay.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps visiting the shrine and receiving its seal marked the official completion of a pilgrim-

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Museum, and the only piece bearing a legend, shows an almost completely full-face figure (here in bust only) with the identifying inscription ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ, as in the Daniel medallion in the nominative case. I am grateful to Mr. Richard Camber, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities of the British Museum, for generously making his findings on this hoard available to me.

<sup>30</sup> See the sources cited in note 13.

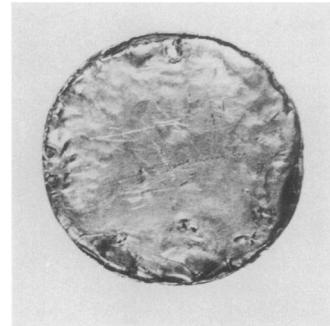
age to Constantinople. Possible also is that these tokens served as a type of passport, proof that the bearer was a bona fide pilgrim when leaving the city, whence the appellation "seal for the journey" that is found in the text of the Russian *Anonymus*.<sup>31</sup>

University of Maryland

<sup>31</sup> "Opisanie Konstantinopolja," 135. Tokens serving as "passports" are known to have been issued to merchants in Constantinople (see Ajnalov, "Primečanija k tekstu Antonija," 97). A less likely explanation of these "seals of the Prophet Daniel" is that they were tokens or *tesserae* which could be exchanged for food and lodging at one of the charitable institutions of Constantinople which catered to pilgrims. Such tokens are discussed in G. Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* (Paris, 1895), 281-310. On the pilgrim hospices of Constantinople, see D. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1968), 185-221, which also illustrates some seals of the hospices. Militating against this interpretation is the fact that the preserved "seal of the Prophet Daniel" (assuming our identification is correct) is made of gold, and as such would be worth more than the cost of lodging in a pilgrim hospice. Moreover, one would expect that a *jeton* valid for lodging at a philanthropic institution would bear the name of that institution or a comparable legend and be sought early in a pilgrim's sojourn in Constantinople, not shortly before quitting the city.



A. Obverse (1:1)



B. Reverse (1:1)



C. Obverse enlarged (2:1)

Dumbarton Oaks. Gold Palaeologan Medallion of the Prophet Daniel